

Message Text

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0999

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, NATO, MPOL

SUBJ: TURKISH WITHDRAWAL FROM WINTEX 75 EXERCISE

1. AT CONCLUSION OF FEB 24 SPECIAL NAC BRIEFING TO HEAR SALT PRESENTATION BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON, ACTING SYG PANSAL CALLED PRIVATE MEETING IN HIS PERSONAL CONFERENCE ROOM. THOSE IN ATTENDANCE WERE DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM), DRAPF (FRG), PECK (UK), ADMIRAL SIR PETER HILL-NORTON (CHAIRMAN MILITARY COMMITTEE), SPINELLI (ITALIAN CHARGE), MCAULIFFE (US) AND LISSFELT (SYG'S OFFICE).

2. IN CONSIDERABLE AGITATION PANSAL OPENED MEETING BY ANNOUNCING THAT THE SACEUR, GENERAL HAIG, HAS RECEIVED FROM GENERAL SANCAR, HEAD OF THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF, OFFICIAL ADVICE THAT FOR TECHNICAL MILITARY REASONS TURKEY HAS NOW DECIDED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE WINTEX 75 EXERCISE. IN HIS MESSAGE SANCAR STATED THAT THE WINTEX EXERCISE IS A GOOD DEAL LESS SIGNIFICANT FOR TURKEY BECAUSE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF GREECE FROM THE NATO INTEGRATED
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MILITARY STRUCTURE. ACCORDING TO SANCAR, FURTHER MODIFICATIONS OF THE EXERCISE MADE AS A RESULT OF THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL HAVE LED THE TURKISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT NOW HAS NO SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE GOVT IN ANKARA.

3. PANSAL SPECULATED THAT THERE WERE VERY POSSIBLY OTHER REASONS WHICH PROMPTED SANCAR TO MAKE THIS DECISION INCLUDING MOST RECENTLY THE CESSATION OF MILITARY AID BY THE UNITED STATES. IT ALSO SEEMED LIKELY TO PANSAL THAT THIS TURKISH DECISION WAS THE PRELUDE TO A MOVE BY ANKARA TO FOLLOW THE GREEK LEAD AND WITHDRAW TURKISH FORCES FROM THE ALLIANCE'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE.

4. PANSAL, WHO HAD ONLY LEARNED OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON FEB 24, SAID IT WAS HIS INTENTION 1) TO ADVISE THE SYG OF THEM AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE; 2) TO ADVISE THE SACEUR THROUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE NOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION IN RESPONSE TO THE MESSAGE FROM SANCAR; AND 3) TO ADVISE THE SACEUR WHO IS PRESENTLY SCHEDULED TO VISIT ANKARA ON AN OFFICIAL COURTESY CALL ON MARCH 3 NOT TO RAISE ANY QUESTIONS WITH THE TURKS WITH RESPECT TO THAT SCHEDULE. PANSAL ALSO REVEALED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH AMBASSADOR ERALP (TURKEY) ON THE MORNING OF FEB 24 AND THAT THE LATTER HAD HEARD BY TELEPHONE ON FEB 21 THAT THE TURKISH DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM WINTEXT 75 WAS THEN PENDING IN ANKARA. ERALP REPORTEDLY RECOMMENDED AGAINST SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION BUT HE WAS NOT AWARE THAT THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES HAD ACTUALLY TAKEN THE DECISION AND COMMUNICATED IT TO SACEUR. ERALP AGREED WITH PANSAL'S ASSESSMENT THAT TECHNICAL MILITARY PROBLEMS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF-SHAPE CHANNEL; BUT THAT A DECISION OF THIS ORDER HAD VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND SHOULD THEREFORE HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH BY THE AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY ON BEHALF OF HIS GOVT WITH THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES OF THE ALLIANCE, AND BY THE TURKISH REP IN THE NATO MILITARY COMMITTEE.

5. AT PANSAL'S INVITATION, SIR PETER HILL-NORTON THEN RECOUNTED WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED:

(1) ON JAN 24 THERE WAS A MEETING AT AFSOUTH HEADQUARTERS ATTENDED BY TURKISH REP WHICH MODIFIED THE SCENARIO FOR WINTEXT 75 IN THE LIGHT OF THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL;
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(2) ON FEB 7, GENERAL SANCAR SENT TO GENERAL HAIG A LENGTHY TELEGRAM LISTING NINE OBJECTIONS TO THE MODIFIED WINTEXT 75 SCENARIO;

(3) ON FEB 19 THE TURKISH NATIONAL MILITARY REP AT SHAPE ON INSTRUCTION FROM ANKARA REQUESTED THAT SHAPE RESPOND TO THE SANCAR MESSAGE OF FEB 7;

(4) ON FEB 20 THE SACEUR SENT A REPLY TO THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF REBUTTING POINT BY POINT THE NINE TURKISH OBJECTIONS STRESSING THE FACT THAT EVERY CPX CONTAINS NUMEROUS PROCEDURAL ARTIFICIALITIES AND EMPHASIZING THAT WINTEXT 75 SHOULD NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE CONSIDERED A "WAR GAME;"

(5) ON FEB 22 SANCAR SENT A FURTHER MESSAGE TO THE

SACEUR DECLARING THAT EXISTING REAL PROBLEMS ON NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK WERE BECOMING WORSE, THAT A DEFENSIVE GAP WAS NOW BEING FROZEN BY POLITICAL FORCES TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF TURKEY, AND THAT THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF HAD THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT PARTICIPATION IN WINTEX 75 WAS NOT BENEFICIAL.

6. ADMIRAL SIR PETER HILL-NORTON SAID THAT SHAPE WAS NOW PREPARING A DRAFT REPLY WHICH WOULD LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR FURTHER EXCHANGES BETWEEN SHAPE AND THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THESE DIFFICULTIES AND ENABLE ANKARA TO PARTICIPATE IN WINTEX 75. CITING "RELIABLE FIELD SOURCES", ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON REPORTED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF PLANS TO TAKE STRONG ACTION UNLESS THE U.S. "EMBARGO" ON MILITARY AID TO TURKEY IS LIFTED BY THE END OF FEB. HE SAID THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF PLANS FIRST TO REDUCE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SIZE OF THE U.S. MILITARY MISSION IN TURKEY; AND, SECONDLY, TO REQUIRE A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN THE STAFF OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY; THIRD, IT WILL ORDER THE CLOSING OF MILITARY FACILITIES WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO THE U.S.; AND THEN IT WILL ANNOUNCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH FORCES FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE.

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USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

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7. IN GENERAL DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED, PANSA EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER THE FACT THAT SANCAR HAD NOT USED PROPOER PROCEDURAL CHANNELS. PECK REMARKED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES ARE NOW DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECT OF THE SUSPENSION OF ARMS AID TO TURKEY AND THAT THEY HOPE THAT THE LONG-TERM DISADVANTAGES TO THE ALLIANCE AND TO

THE U.S. WILL BECOME APPARENT FAIRLY SHORTLY TO AMERICAN LEGISLATORS. DE STAERCKE COUNSELED PANSA AND ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON TO REMAIN QUIET AND COOL. HE OBSERVED THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE TURKS WERE IMPETUOUS AND THAT THEY WERE BEHAVING IN THEIR TYPICALLY STUBBORN, STRAIGHT-FORWARD MANNER WHICH MAKES THEM SUCH VALUABLE ALLIES. HE EXPRESSED HIS ASTONISHMENT THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE HAD ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE UNINFORMED OF THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN SANCAR AND SACEUR UNTIL 1130 ON THE MORNING OF FEB 23. HE ASKED WHY THIS IMPORTANT POLITICAL ISSUE WHICH AFFECTED THE GOVTS OF GREECE, TURKEY, CYPRUS AND THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE HAD NOT BEEN RAISED IN THE PERIODIC LUNCHEONS WHICH DR. LUNS HOLDS WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE AND THE SACEUR. IN "ALL FRIENDSHIP" (TOUTE L'AMITIE), DE STAERCKE SAID HE HAD ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THE ALLIANCE FUNCTION MORE EFFECTIVELY

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WHEN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE HAD BEEN STATIONED IN WASHINGTON. IN THOSE DAYS, HE REMARKED, THE SACEUR HAD COMMUNICATED DIRECTLY WITH THE SYG.

8. DE STAERCKE SAID HE FURTHER BELIEVED THAT THE PLANNED MARCH 3 VISIT TO ANKARA BY GENERAL HAIG SHOULD GO FORWARD AS SCHEDULED SINCE IT WOULD ENABLE THE SACEUR TO MEET PERSONALLY WITH SANCAR WITH SENIOR POLITICAL OFFICIALS. HE URGED PANSA AS ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL TO SUMMON ERALP TO HIS OFFICE AND TELL THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD LEARNED OF THE COMMUNICATION WHICH SHAPE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF AND TO ADVISE HIM THAT THE TURKS WERE USING THE WRONG CHANNEL. ADMIRAL SIR PETER HILL-NORTON RESPONDED THAT HE HAD NOT LEARNED OF THE WINTEX DIFFICULTIES UNTIL FEB 23 AND THAT HE HAD ALWAYS DONE HIS BEST TO KEEP ALLIED POLITICAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED OF EVENTS AS THEY OCCURRED. DE STAERCKE REJOINED THAT THE ONLY CRITICISM WHICH HE WOULD DIRECT AT SHAPE IS THE 13-DAY DELAY IN MAKING REPLY TO SANCAR'S MESSAGE OF FEB 7. THIS DELAY WAS UNDOUBTEDLY OFFENSIVE TO THE TURKS WHO HOLD THEMSELVES IN HIGH ESTEEM.

9. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION PANSA DECIDED: (1) TO DRAFT A REPORT TO SYG LUNS WHICH USNATO WOULD TRANSMIT FOR POSSIBLE USE BY THE SYG IN HIS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON ON FEB 24 AND FEB 25; (2) THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE WOULD ADVISE THE SACEUR TO RESPOND TO SANCAR'S FEB 22 MESSAGE PROMPTLY AND PROPOSE THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN SANCAR AND GENERAL HAIG MIGHT MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE EXISTING DIFFICULTIES AND TO ADD THAT GENERAL HAIG LOOKED FORWARD TO A PERSONAL EXCHANGE ON THESE AND OTHER MATTERS WHEN HE VISITS ANKARA ON MARCH 3.

10. KRAPF ASKED WHETHER SACEUR'S FEB 20 MESSAGE HAD INCLUDED ANY EXPLANATION FOR THE DELAY IN RESPONDING TO SANCAR'S FEB 7 MESSAGE. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE SAID THAT IT HAD NOT.

11. MCAULIFFE INQUIRED WHETHER THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE ON THE MILITARY COMMITTEE HAD ON ANY OCCASION RAISED THIS OR ANY RELATED ISSUE SINCE THE NINE POINTS RAISED BY SANCAR WITH SHAPE SEEMED TO BE TECHNICAL MILITARY QUESTIONS. HILL-NORTON
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REPLIED GENERAL NAIBOGLU HAD NOT DONE SO PROBABLY BECAUSE HE WAS NOT A VERY COMPETENT OFFICER AND WAS RARELY WELL INFORMED.

12. COMMENT: WHEN USNATO RECEIVES THE COMMUNICATION FROM ACTING SYG PANSAL TO DR. LUNS WE SHALL TRANSMIT IT BY IMMEDIATE CABLE. PANSAL IS UNDECIDED ABOUT CALLING A MEETING OF THE DPC TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE IN AN INSTITUTIONALIZED NATO FORUM LEST THE TURKS REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE; OR, ALTERNATIVELY, RAISE WITH HIM THE MEMO WHICH ERALP GAVE TO SYG ON FEB 12 (USNATO 0790 EXDIS) TO WHICH THE SYG HAS NOT YET RESPONDED.
MCAULIFFE

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